## Message Text

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**ACTION EUR-08** 

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 NEA-07 IO-03 ACDA-10 NSC-05

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SCCT-01 SP-02 SAM-01 (ISO) W

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R 291614Z AUG 75

FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3935

INFO AMCONSUL ALEXANDRIA

AMEMBASSY AMMAN

AMEMBASSY BEIRUT

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS

AMCONSUL JERUSALEM

AMEMBASSY JIDDA

AMCONSUL LENINGRAD

AMEMBASSYLONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

/AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV 1602

USMISSION USUN

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LIMDIS

BEIRUT PASS BAGHDAD

3. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, UR, US, IS

SUBJ: SOVIET VIEWS ON MIDDLE EAST PEACE EFFORTS

1. SUMMARY. DURING AN AUGUST 27 CALL BY GERMAN AMBASSADOR SAHM, SYTENKO, CHIEF OF THE MFA'S NEAR EAST COUNTRIES DIVISION, TOLD HIM A NEW SINAI AGREEMENT "DOES NOT HELP AT ALL," AND SERVES ONLY "TO DIVIDE THE ARABS." SYTENKO RESTATED FAMILIAR MOSCOW POLICIES ON VARIOUS ISSUES, BUT ADDED THAT CAREFUL PREPARATIONS FOR GENEVA COULD INCLUDE "CERTAIN ARRANGEMENTS CONFIDENTIAL

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ON A BILATERAL BASIS" WHICH, HOWEVER, WOULD HAVE TO BE

## WITHIN THE GENEVA FRAMEWORK. END SUMMARY.

- 2. SINAI AGREEMENT. SYTENKO OPENED WITH SOME GENERAL REMARKS CRITICAL OF THE AMERICAN EFFORTS TO MEDIATE A SECOND SINAI AGREEMENT. HE CLAIMED THAT SUCH AN AGREEMENT IGNORED THE INTERESTS OF SYRIA AND THE PALESTINIANS, AND, THEREFORE, "DOES NOT HELP AT ALL." SYTENKO INSISTED THE "KEY PROBLEMS" OF ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL AND THE PALESTINIANS SHOULD BE SOLVED FIRST, AND A SINAI AGREEMENT SIMPLY SERVES TO GIVE ISRAELIS BREATHING SPACE AND "TO DIVIDE THE ARABS EVEN FURTHER." HE BLAMED THE GERMANS AND OTHER EUROPEANS FOR PROVIDING (UNSPECIFIED) HELP TO THE SECRETARY. ASKED WHAT THE SOVIET ATTITUDE TOWARD ANOTHER SINAI AGREEMENT WOULD BE, HE REPORTEDLY SAID SOVIETS WOULD PROBABLY TAKE NO POSITION ONE WAY OR THE OTHER.
- 3. GENEVA CONFERENCE. ASKED TO ELABORATE ON WHAT MOSCOW MEANS BY "CAREFUL PREPARATIONS," SYTENKO SAID THE PARTIES INVOLVED COULD REACH "CERTAIN ARRANGEMENTS ON A BILATERAL BASIS," BUT THESE ARRANGEMENTS "WOULD HAVE TO BE WITHIN THE GENEVA FRAMEWORK." HE CITED ONGOING SOVIET CONVERSATIONS WITH INDIVIDUAL ARAB COUNTRIES AS EXAMPLE OF CAREFUL PREPARATIONS. SYTENKO SOMEWHAT HEATEDLY INSISTED THAT, CONTRARY TO REPORTS HE HAD SEEN IN THE WESTERN PRESS, THE GENEVA CONFERENCE WOULD NOT BE BENEFICIAL ONLY TO THE SOVIET UNION BUT, LIKE CSCE, ADVANTAGES WOULD ACCRUE TO ALL INTERESTED PARTIES. ASKED IF GENEVA WOULD BE WORTH IT IF THE PROSPECT WERE FOR DISPARATE OPENING POSITIONS AND POSSIBLY BREAKDOWN, SYTENKO SAID THAT IF ALL PARTIES WOULD COME TO A RECONVENED CONFERENCE WITH SERIOUS INTENTIONS AND A POSITIVE SPIRIT, THE CONFERENCE WOULD SUCCEED.
- 4. JERUSALEM. WHEN ASKED ABOUT MOSCOW'S THINKING ON JERUSALEM, SYTENKO SAID THAT THE REQUIREMENT FOR ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL FROM ALL OCCUPIED ARAB TERRITORY INCLUDES WITHDRAWAL FROM JERUSALEM.
- 5. ISRAEL-UN. SYTENKO WAS EVASIVE WHEN DISCUSSING THE ONGOING CAMPAIGN TO SUSPEND OR EXPEL ISRAEL FROM THE UN; HOWEVER, HE DID PORTRAY THE EFFORT AS ONE WHICH WOULD BE USED ONLY AS A "LAST REPORT", AND MADE FAMILIAR POINT THAT UNDER CHARTER, ONLY SECURITY COUNCIL CAN EXPEL A MEMBER.

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- 6. EGYPT-USSR. ON THE ISSUE OF RESCHEDULING THE EGYPTIAN DEBT, SYTENKO SAID THE TWO SIDES ARE "NEGOTIATING," BUT HE OFFERED NO INFORMATION ON WHAT MAY HAVE BEEN DECIDED. HE HAD NOTHING NEW ON A POSSIBLE GROMYKO TRIP TO EGYPT, BUT HE SPECULATED THAT FAHMY MIGHT MEET WITH GROMYKO IN NEW YORK AT THE UNGA.
- 7. INDEPENDENT PALESTINE. IN SYTENKO'S VIEW, THE ESTABLISH-

MENT OF AN INDEPENDENT STATE OF PALESTINE, COMPOSED OF GAZA AND THE WEST BANK, WOULD BE "A POSITIVE STEP TOWARD PEACE," ALTHOUGH HE WAS CERTAIN THAT SUCH A STATE WOULD NOT RECOGNIZE OR DEAL WITH ISRAEL "AT FIRST." THE IDEA OF SOME SORT OF CONFEDERATION WHICH WOULD INCLUDE JORDAN AND PALESTINE IS "UNREALISTIC" ACCORDING TO SYTENKO.

8. A GERMAN EMBOFF WHO ACCOMPANIED AMBASSADOR SAHM SAID THAT SYTENKO SEEMED UNUSUALLY PESSIMISTIC ABOUT THE CHANCES OF REACHING AN OVERALL ME SETTLEMENT, AND HE APPEARED QUITE SOUR, PRESUMABLY REFLECTING FRUSTRATION OVER MOSCOW'S RECENT INABILITY TO INFLUENCE DEVELOPMENTS IN THE REGION TO ANY SIGNIFICANT DEGREE. STOESSEL

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